and occupational lines. When landlords were forced to move into towns during periods of disorder, organized peasants and tenants at times became so powerful that they defied the landlords' demand for exorbitant rents.

Among the artisans and workers in China there were for generations both craft guilds (hangs) and regional guilds (pangs). As in Europe, these guilds were not intended to serve the interests of workers as a class, but to promote the crafts and guard their monopoly and trade secrets. Both employers and employees were members, but the employers usually dominated the guilds' activities.[6]

Another kind of association existed to serve travelers, who were usually merchants, in cities outside their home county or province. These associations, t'ung-hsiang hui, were organized on a county or provincial basis. By maintaining buildings and personnel in distant cities, they facilitated the dealings of their constituents who might have language or other difficulties.

Most significant and disturbing to the social structure were the secret societies. They were, in fact, hierarchical societies within a society. A notable example was the Ko-lao Hui, which was

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6. Nym Wales, The Chinese Labor Movement, New York, The John Day Company, 1945, p. 7.

665 itself a social and economic force.

Like the Party, mass organizations have enjoyed a special position in the North China Region for in "old liberated" areas, mass organizations had supported the Party in its underground movements, particularly those among women and youth. After the Communist assumption of power, they became open and were centrally organized under provincial leadership. Among the most influential mass organizations are the trade unions and the women's federations, which will be discussed in order to illustrate the pattern of Party control over mass organizations.

665 467 A. Trade Unions. Since trade unions form the backbone of the industrial development of North China, and since this area is one of the industrialized areas of China, control over them early became one of the foremost goals of the Party organization in this region.

Until August 1954, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions[44] was represented in the North China region by the North China Trade Union Working Committee. Under the regional committee, local trade union councils reach from the provinces to towns, and on to an administrative unit equivalent to hsiang, namely, an urban center of rural communities.

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44. Chinese text of the Constitution of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions in People's Daily, May 14, 1953, p. 2.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
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467 The basic trade union unit is similar to the Party branch. As a general rule, a committee is formed whenever the membership reaches twenty five. The basic trade union committee sets up workshop (department) committees to direct the work of the departments. Workshop committees may also be broken down into trade union teams in production units. Such an organizational pattern closely resembles that of the Party branch. The reason for the similarity in organization is to enhanve Party control and in turn to convert trade unions into effective and military organizations.

To destroy the old trade union leadership, the Party specifically launched a "democratic regorm" movement in all factories and associated the elimination of the old leadership with the suppression of counterrevolutionaries. However, "democratic reform" was milder in the North China region that in any other for two reasons: (1) Communist underground strength in the unions was greater than in other regions, and (2) it was of particular importance not to dislocate the economy of this region. Nevertheless, a new leadership was by degrees secured through propaganda and the rallying of mass support. As of May 1950, new management councils had been established in 78 out of the total of 123 unions in the province of Hopei.[45] In privately-owned factories, a so-called "collective contract" was signed with the owners, meaning the acknowledgement by private owners of the new trade union leadership.

45. Hopei Daily, May 1, 1950, p. 1.

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467 The methods employed by the Party for political control over trade unions are similar to those used to control other organizations. The subjection of trade union affairs to the direction of the Commission on Trade Unions of the Party Committee and the placing of Party personnel in key positions in the trade unions are customary practices at all levels.

However, the most effective method of control is the practice of the implementing of directives through the trade unions themselves,[46] in this manner: First, the Party branch formulates directives, working plans and personnel policies. Second the Party branch suggests to the presidium of the trade union council the issues to be discussed. Party members elected to the presidium guide the trade union meeting successfully and direct the passage of Party proposals by the presidium. Third, after the resolution is adopted, Party and Corps members must accept it unconditionally and serve as activists to make certain that it is carried out. Finally, Party branches in the trade unions were instructed that their primary tasks were the formulation and execution of production plans, and the assignment and fulfillment of production quotas. Party branches were also to supervise cultural programs for the workers to make sure that the "four safeguards" -- against spies, robbers, fire and sabotage -- function effectively in the factories.

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46. Ibid., March 17, 1951, p. 2.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF12 North China AF12

Annex "A," Subparagraph 3g,
Economic Background

LABOR

I. THE EARLY STAGE OF LABOR ORGANIZATION

A. Organization of Trade Unions in Hopei and Shansi

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The Communists' organization of labor in the North China Region was more advanced than elsewhere in China proper. Hopei and Shansi were the first provinces outside the Northeast and Northwest regions to be dominated by Communist forces. Even before the formal inauguration of the People's Republic of China in October 1949, preparatory committees of various trade unions had been established in the larger cities of these provinces. Having gained experience in Northeast and Northwest China, the Communists smoothly developed their labor organization in Shansi and Hopei.

In Peking, 83 trade unions were organized and 125 preparatory committees established during the first year of ithe regime. Among the 400,000 wage earners (one-fifth of the total population of Peking), 142,457 (35 per cent) were reported to have joined the trade unions. The Communists also claimed to have trained 19,007 trade union

467 cadres to tackle the problem of labor organization in Peking.[1]

Official policy in Communist China is to organize into unions all manual and non-manual wage earners whose earnings from work constitute their sole or chief means of livelihood. As early as 1949, doctors, nurses, staff members and janitors of the American-operated Peking Union Medical College (the famous P.U.M.C founded by the Rockefeller Foundation) formed a separate trade union. In 1949, Peking educational workers, i.e., people working in research institutes, universities, secondary and primary schools, had organized a trade union preparatory committee to represent 18,000 members.[2] The most numerous trade unions in Peking during this period, however, were in the handicraft industries

Tientsin, the largest industrial city in the North China Region, has a working population about as large as that in Peking. Eighty per cent of the Tientsin workers were employed in industry, and half of this group joined trade unions during 1949-50. The Tientsin General Trade Union opened its office on January 14, 1950. Among the first trade unions to be established in Tientsin were those made up of cotton mill workers, railway workers, and seamen. The Hopei

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1. Kung-jen Jih-pao [Worker's Daily], Feb. 3, 1950; June 29, 1950, p. 1.
2. Ibid., Dec. 8, 1949, p. 4.

467 Federation of Trade Unions was established on July 26, 1950.[3] It remains under the direct control of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions.

According to a report published in Nov. 1949, among the 500,000 workers in the public and private enterprises of Shansi Province, 140,000 (28 per cent) belonged to trade unions. In Shansi, 125 trade unions and 82 preparatory committees were established during the first year of the new regime. In the city of Taiyuan, 70 per cent of the workers in public and private enterprises had joined trade unions by October 1950.[4]

The rapid organization of trade unions in Communist China did not indicate the spontaneous enthusiasm of the working class, as the Communists claimed. Rather the swift pace of the movement resulted from government policy in sending thousands of trade union cadres into factories, mines and other enterprises to indoctrinate and organize the workers.

The functions of the trade union, as defined in the program of the Taiyuan General Trade Union in 1950, were: (1) to increase production; (2) to settle labor disputes: (3) to educate the

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3. Ibid., Jan. 10, 15, 1950; Aug. 2, 1950.
4. Ibid., Jan. 19, 1950, p. 4.

467 the workers; and (4) to improve the living standard of the masses.[5]

B. Labor Disputes and the Labor Bureau

468 The first step in settling labor disputes consists of consultation between the representatives of the workers (the trade unions) and the management, in the case of publicly-owned enterprises, and between the trade-unions and the owner, in the case of private enterprises. In 1949 and 1950 various kinds of consultation agencies were established in factories, mines, and other public and private enterprises in North China such as the Labor-Capital Consultative Council and the Factory Administration Committee. In 1950 in Peking, more than 70 private enterprises established labor-capital-consultative councils, and 28 public enterprises established factory administrative committees.[6] In Taiyuan, where there were then no large-scale industries, collective contracts were used to settle labor disputes.

If consultation fails, disputes are brought to the government labor bureau for mediation and arbitration. A labor bureau is established at every level of the government. According to a report made by the Peking government labor bureau, from June to October 1949, 190 labor

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5. Ibid., Oct. 3, 1950, p. 4.
6. Ibid., May 28, 1950; June 1, 1950.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

634 665 tion when the Party came to power, following the success of the Nationalist armies and the capture of Peking. The Party Board was the basic organization. It had 208 members: 82 teachers, 53 students, 20 farmers, 17 officers, 13 merchants, 5 officials, 2 soldiers, 2 policemen, and 14 others. The work of the Board was carried on by an Executive Committee with a secretarial organization, training and propaganda divisions, and an Inspection Committee. In 1929 the activities of the Board were supported by a grant of $16,800 from hsien funds.

The work of the Party Board was discontinued in 1930 because of political changes but it was begun again in 1931, after the military situation had cleared.

After its organization in 1928 the Board promptly set up five subsidiary organizations for farmers, merchants, laborers, students, and women. Each organization was to promote the interests of its special group. Executive and inspection committees usually were organized, but the subsidiary organizations evidently were set up primarily to function at the instigation of the Party Board. They were given no budgets and any incidental expenses of meetings and other activities were met from Party funds. They all sent representatives to conferences and rallies, parades, and committee meetings. Meetings of the anti-opium and the finance committees were specially mentioned.

467 Before 1928 labor unions were unknown in Ting Hsien. The old gilds had included both the masters and the men. After the establishment of the Party Board, labor unions were promptly organized and the General Labor Union of Ting Hsien was organized by the Tailors' Union, Shoemakers' Union, Silversmiths' Union, Carpenters' Union, and Barbers' Union.

As the Farmers' and Women's Associations covered the entire hsien the farmers had central, district, and village organizations, the women, central, district, branch, and sub-branch organizations.

634 185 The National Conference on Home Affairs, held in December, 1932, took hsien government reform as its central theme of discussion. The Conference recommended that an Institute of Political and Social Reconstruction be established in the provinces willing to experiment with the problem of rural reconstruction, that an Experiment Area be set aside as the laboratory of the Institute, and that the Area be under the direct and complete control of the Institute. This recommendation was enacted into law by the sanction of the Central Political Council, and

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/For information on craft and professional guilds in Peking see category 116, entire text. For information on the history of the guilds see pp. 67-79; for information on the porters guild see pp. 80-91; for information on the carpenters guild see pp. 91-102; for information on the guild of the blind see pp. 102-106; for information on the number of guilds, guild halls and guild offices see pp. 107-122; for information on guild membership see pp. 123-132; for information on guild organization see pp. 133-142; for information on guild meetings see pp. 143-146; for information on guild finances see pp. 147-155; for information on the apprentice system see pp. 155-168; for information on the charitable work of the guilds see pp. 169-173; for information on the religious life of the guilds see pp. 174-189./

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

WATER

"Peiping's running water runs around in carts," is a local saying, as the water supply of most families is brought to their gates in large wooden wheelbarrows and is then carried into the houses in buckets. Water under pressure is available from the mains of the Peiping Water Company in a large part of the city, but the cost of plumbing puts it beyond the reach of the poorer families. The distribution of water is evidently a monopoly firmly held by the water carriers' gild, most of whom were originally natives of Shantung province. It is reported that the gild has a membership of some 2,500 men. In many cases, the privilege of supplying water to the people of a given district is the property of one man. He can lease or sell the privilege and even leave it to his children.[17] One of the families included in our study received $17 a month for the rent of a water district.

Most of the water is drawn from surface wells, though some of the carriers get their supply from the hydrants of the water company. The retail price of water was 1 cent for two bucketfuls, but many of the regular users contracted for their supply on a monthly basis. The amount delivered to some families paying 15 cents a month was approximately 420 liters per month.[18] For many of our families, the price of water was fixed in terms of copper, rather than silver. There were regular monthly payments of 30, 50, 60, 70, 75, 90, 120, and 180 coppers. Other families, if they paid a regular monthly minimum, must have purchased varying additional

[17] No. 17. [18] No. 39.